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ABSTRACT

This guide has been compiled as an aide-memoire and resource book about the increasing incidence of malnutrition in infants caused by bottle feeding in the Third World. It deals with four major interrelated issues: (1) the prevalence of protein energy malnutrition, (2) the importance of breast milk, not only in preventing malnutrition and disease but also as an important world food resource, (3) the imposition of male-oriented Western culture, involving the more complex mechanisms of exploitation by Western multinational corporations, and (4) the fact that these mechanisms operate in the West as in the Third World to the particular detriment of both women and children. Sections 1 and 2 give an overview of these issues using material from people who have been writing about the issue for a long time - doctors, sociologists, nutritionists. Section 3 describes the action being undertaken on this issue in different countries: Australia, Canada, Denmark, West Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Switzerland, United Kingdom and the U.S. The epilogue attempts to put the issue into political perspective. A resource list and a bibliography are included. (MS)

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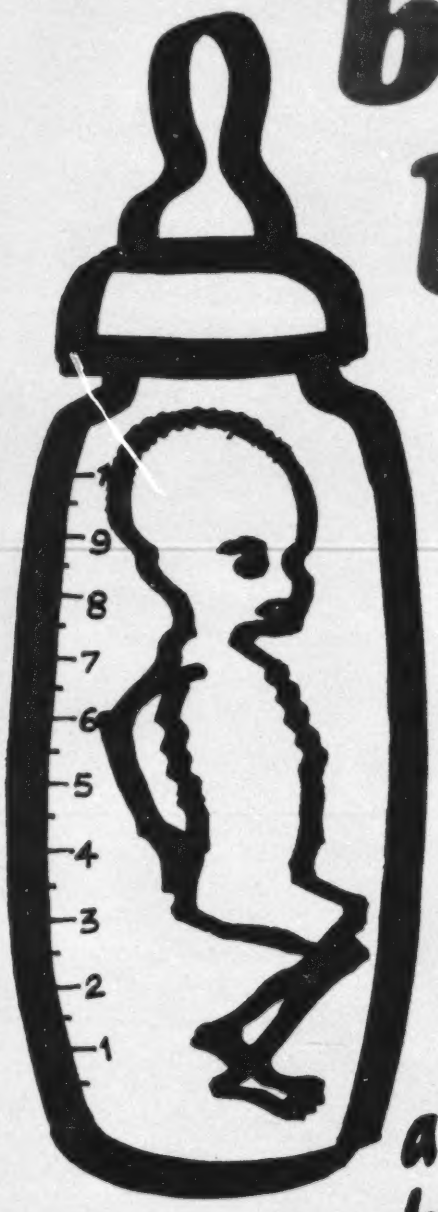
bottle babies



a guide to the baby foods issue

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Editor's note

We would like to stress that in compiling this Guide, we were very concerned by the fact that almost all the documentation we collected and studied was by men (as you will see from the text).

As a feminist organisation, we feel it is very important that we as women should be dealing with a subject which above all affects us.

Until now, the women's movement has done little in this direction, even though there are groups dealing with breast feeding, consumerism in general, and the image of women in the mass media.

We would especially draw your attention, therefore, to the articles included in the section "Exploitation: whose world?" (page 23), and call on women and women's groups to deal with this problem which is central to our struggle - the problem of the mechanisms and value systems which make this still a male-dominated world.

ISIS

introduction

the bottle

In 1975 a film called Bottle Babies was made (Peter Krieg, Federal Republic of Germany). It vividly documents the increasing malnutrition caused by bottle feeding in the Third World - in countries and communities where neither the means, the knowledge nor the hygienic conditions exist for safe and adequate bottle feeding. The use of such technology and, most importantly, the use of expensive formula foods marketed by Western infant food companies competing for sales, is highly dangerous and in many cases, fatal.

Like many things created in the West, the bottle in the Third World has become a status symbol. For women living in poorer countries or areas, using a bottle implies being more like women in the West - more sophisticated, more privileged. This is particularly horrifying since the bottle is always inferior to breast feeding in any culture.

Some women in the West are beginning to come full circle - back to breast feeding, to learning about nature all over again. The tragic irony is that Third World women are un-learning this same thing at the same time, being persuaded that the bottle (and the products which go with it) is more Western, more modern and therefore "better".

The film is striking in bringing this home, showing the suffering of the children, the poverty and disease which is made worse by the bottle and its contents, promoted so vigorously by Western companies.

This booklet, inspired by the film, has been compiled as an aide-mémoire and resource book. It is not intended to cast new light on an already well documented subject, but rather to set out clearly some of the major questions, whose answers (at least in part) are to be found in the collected statements and testimony reproduced here.

The questions here are complex, but can be seen as essentially four interrelated issues:-

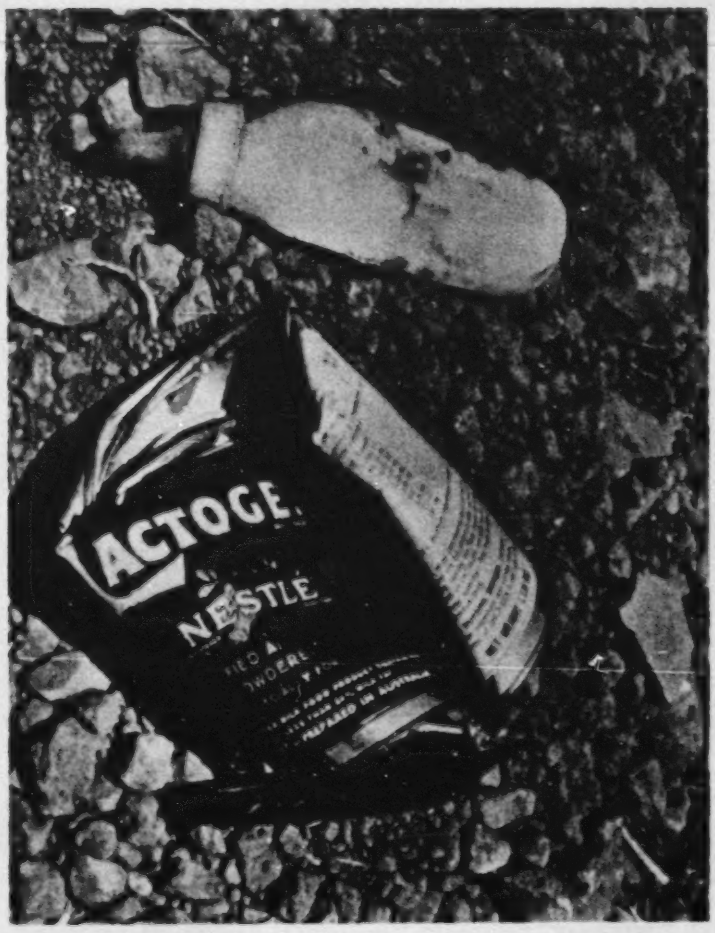
1. the prevalence of protein-energy malnutrition
2. the importance of breast milk, not only in preventing malnutrition and disease but also as an important world food resource
3. the imposition of male-oriented western culture (cultural imperialism), involving the more complex mechanisms of exploitation by Western multinational corporations

4. the fact that these same mechanisms operate in the West as in the Third World, to the particular detriment of both women and children.

Sections 1 and 2 give an overview on these key issues, using material mostly from people who have been writing about the issue for a long time now - doctors, sociologists and nutritionists. What is reproduced is extracts from these writings, with editorial headings and emphases added.

Section 3 describes the action being undertaken on this issue in different countries, and a final section gives selected, annotated sources of information (both groups and literature) on this and the related issues.

The Epilogue by Peter Krieg helps to put the issue into political perspective and pinpoints a crucial factor: that we cannot escape taking responsibility for the world in which we live.



Children's graves
Chingwele Cemetary
Lusaka, Zambia 1969

the problem

"In recent decades, there has been a decline in breast feeding and a rise in marasmus and diarrheal disease which has considerably added to the problem of infant health and mortality.

Various factors are responsible for this change, but there can be do doubt that the high pressure promotion, advertising and distribution of milk formulas by commercial companies in developing countries has been one of the major factors in changing the pattern of infant feeding and in the consequent increased emphasis in mortality and morbidity in the early months and first year of life."

Summary of a Statement to the Bern Court, by Derrick B. Jelliffe, MD, FRCP, FAA, FRSH, FAPHA, DCH, DTM & H, School of Public Health, Los Angeles, California, USA, November 1974.

8

"I have absolutely no doubt that bottle feeding is a major cause of ill-health, of poor nutrition and of deaths of children in many of these developing countries - in the Philippines, in Colombia, the Caribbean and Africa.

Undoubtedly, the multinational companies, the manufacturers of formulas of milk products for infant feeding, have been aggressive in their advertising and their promotion of these products, and undoubtedly this has led to a great spread in bottle feeding of babies. I can without doubt say that the bottle feeding of babies has led to a great deal of ill health and many deaths."

Professor Michael Latham, Medical Research Centre, Nairobi, Kenya, in an interview for BBC Television programme "Panorama", London, 1st December 1975.

"FAO has noted with great concern the decline in breast feeding in many developing countries. Early weaning under the conditions which prevail in developing countries can be singled out as the main cause of malnutrition in the infant. Furthermore, it is noted that early severe malnutrition of the type associated with early weaning may lead to permanent physical and mental damage and the developing countries may thus have to carry the added economic burden of many permanently disabled persons."

from "Summary of FAO's position on Breast Feeding and a Tentative Strategy for Action", in In Defence of Breast Feeding, *Food Policy and Nutrition Division of the FAO (Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations), Rome, October 1975.*

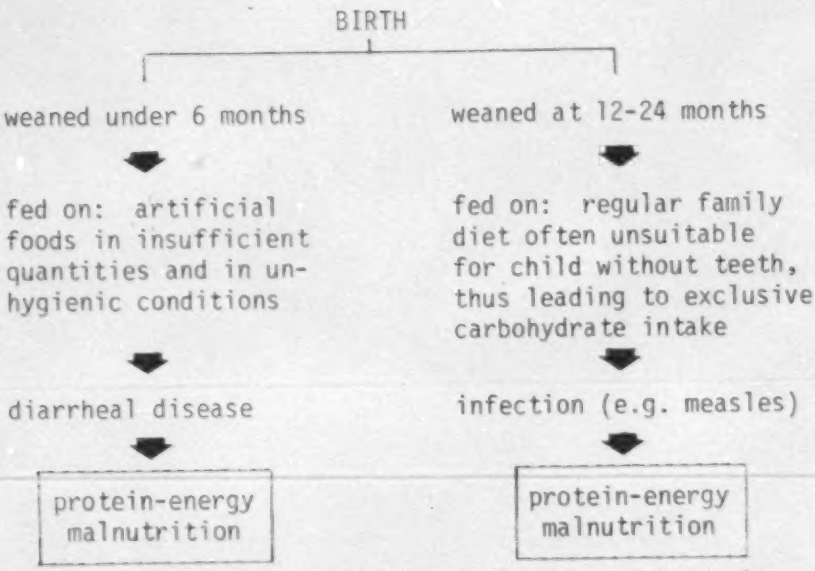
1
malnutrition

What is infant malnutrition?

What is special about human milk?

How does breast milk help the economy of developing countries?

infant malnutrition: what is it?


BIRTH
weaned under 6 months
weaned at 12-24 months
fed on: artificial foods in insufficient quantities and in unhygienic conditions
fed on: regular family diet often unsuitable for child without teeth, thus leading to exclusive carbohydrate intake
diarrheal disease
infection (e.g. measles)
protein-energy malnutrition
protein-energy malnutrition

Both conditions of malnutrition are due to an insufficiency of protein and calories, and are characterised by severe weight loss. This condition is also called protein-calorie malnutrition (PCM).

If there is a total lack of food, the result will be marasmus. If the person gets enough energy, but not enough protein, the result will be kwashiorkor. This is extremely rare in adults.

One infant food company says:* "Kwashiorkor is more typical of the rural populations of the world where children are breast fed sometimes up to two years or more, moving directly onto the family diet which is rich in carbohydrates." This makes it seem that breast feeding is responsible for this condition.

BUT IN FACT "Breast feeding is the traditional and ideal form of infant nutrition, usually capable of meeting a child's nutritional needs for his first four to six months of life. Even after the essential introduction of supplemental foods, human milk can serve as an important continuing source of a child's nutritional well-being From the sixth to the twelfth month it can supply up to three-quarters of a child's protein needs and a significant portion for some months beyond.

"For most infants in low-income countries prolonged breast feeding is vitally necessary to growth and, quite often, survival, as it represents the only easily available source of protein of good quality containing all the essential amino acids." *from The Nutrition Factor, by Alan Berg, Brookings Institute, USA, 1973.*

* Nestlé

protein-calorie malnutrition

Malnutrition has its greatest effect on physiologically vulnerable groups, especially young children who make up over 10 percent of the world's population.

In resource-poor, technically less developed countries, Protein-calorie malnutrition (PCM) of early childhood is widespread. Severe syndromes, such as kwashiorkor and marasmus, are found in 1 to 7 percent of some populations of young child ren, while up to two-thirds may be affected by less severe but nevertheless debili tating forms.

PCM is the world's dominant nutritional problem, often associated with deficiencies of other nutrients such as vitamin A. It has been estimated that there are about 10 to 20 million young children with severe syndromes of kwashiorkor or marasmus at any one time - most of whom will die without treatment.

With deterioration of the economic, social or agricultural situation, the numbers affected rise, particularly if famine conditions develop.

HOW BOTTLE FEEDING CAUSES DIARRHEA, MALNUTRITION AND DEATH

economic factors

The purchase of packaged milk formula requires CASH. The decision to switch from breast feeding to the bottle is seldom made with a full appreciation of the amount of money needed to sustain this financial outlay over the many months a child requires this kind of nutrition. Inevitably the cash available to the mother falls short of the need for such continued purchases. The most common result is that each purchase of formula is made to stretch by adding greater amounts of water. Very quickly the thinned-out "milk" is too dilute and seriously inadequate in nutrition. During those times when family cash cannot be spared for these products, the bottle simply gets filled with rice pap or thin gruel made from cereal grains. Grave malnutrition in these circumstances is a sure consequence. Too often the money problem leads a frustrated father or family to decide that buying these expensive products must stop after just a few weeks. By then, lactation has long

Marasmus baby with feeding bottle (from the documentary "Diarrhea in Papua New Guinea", by John Biddulph)

since ceased and this "alternative" no longer exists.

Other factors complicate the preparation of the formula in proper concentration. These include a poor understanding of the means of preparation and a lack of appreciation of the need for careful measurements, often complicated by illiteracy of the mother.

hygienic factors

The most important factor here is care of the bottle and nipple (teat). The concepts of handling bottle feeding did not exist in the cultures of most developing countries before this generation. Moreover, the kitchen capability to adequatly clean these deep and narrow-necked bottles is just not there. And there is no appreciation of the results of contamination or residual spoiled milk.

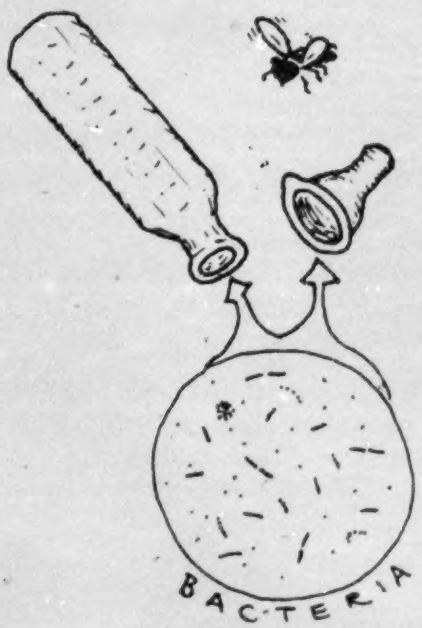
As a result, an accumulation of residual milk coats the bottom of the bottle, inside the neck of the bottle and inside the nipple. This provides a rich medium for the growth of hosts of bacteria, including some of those capable of inducing devastating gastroenteritis (diarrhea and vomiting). Many of the bottles available in the markets are of cheap plastic with rough and porous surface, which makes them more difficult to clean. Each new preparation of formula added to the bottle is immediately contaminated. The heat in these tropical countries merely speeds the proliferation of bacteria.

The sources of the bacterial contamination are everywhere, on hands, flies, the earth, and, not least of all, the water used to prepare the artificial milk.

All these factors and more contribute to the repeated cycle of malnutrition, increased vulnerability, diarrhea, infections and so on.

<u>The fatal end result is inescapable for many</u>.

(Dr. Stuart J. Kingma, Christian Medical Commission, World Council of Churches; a piece prepared specially for inclusion in this guide)



Although exact figures are hard to come by, it is estimated that only about 5% of the world's women cannot breast feed for physiological reasons.

human milk and breast feeding

The Crucial Considerations

Human milk poses none of the testing, marketing or distribution problems of new foods. Lactation is one of the most ancient mammalian characteristics - dating back some 200 million years to the earliest egg-laying species, and hence preceding the evolution of placental gestation.

In man, the consumption of animal milk is relatively recent, dating back less than 10,000 years; even today animal milk forms a culturally acceptable part of the diet for only some of mankind.

The widespread use of infant formulas based on cow's milk in the Western world is a development of only the last 50 to 70 years, made possible by revolutions in dairy farming and food technology.

protection

Much illness in early childhood, especially in developing countries, is related to infection, which occurs more easily in children with PCM and which in turn makes malnutrition worse.

The considerable protective effect afforded by breast feeding has been recognized for decades, but has been considered to be related simply to cleanliness and lack of opportunity for contamination.

However, recent work has demonstrated that human milk has anti-infective properties, because of the presence of secretory immunoglobulin A, lysozyme, the bifidus factor, lactoferrin, and other substances. The protective effect of milk is evident especially in relation to intestinal infections, including diarrheal disease due to "Escherichia coli" and other organisms, enteroviruses, and moniliasis.

Also, the biologically normal continuation of lactation into the second year or later (currently termed "prolonged" breast feeding) supplies a small, but significant, supplement to the critical weaning or transitional diet, and hence assists in the prevention of kwashiokor.

Conversely, infantile obesity is much more common in bottle-fed infants in communities where home hygiene is good and the purchase of formula not limited by funds. The quantity and composition are under the mother's control, so that calorie overdosage can occur.

By contrast, breast feeding is a supply and demand phenomenon involving only the nursing dyad, with the volume regulated by the infant's appetite and thirst.

nutrition

All mammalian milks have highly specific biochemical compositions. The complexity of the nutrients present in human milk has been underemphasized in pediatric

"Breast milk is the original convenience food. No mixing, warming or sterilising needed; no dirty pots and bottles to wash up afterwards; always on tap from its specially designed unbreakable containers. And it is genuinely the most nutritious wholesome product on the market. A copy-writers dream."

Mike Muller, The Baby Killer
England 1974

textbooks, where comparisons of the proximate principles - protein, fat, and lactose - are usually the most that are given.

In the case of human milk, the most significant of the many differences from cow's milk appears to be the abundant supply of nutrients most needed for the rapid growth and development of the central nervous system, including the brain. Particularly high levels of lactose, cystine and cholesterol, and specific patterns of polyenoic fatty acids are found in human milk.

contraception

Recent studies indicate that the traditional belief that unsupplemented breast feeding has a contraceptive, child-spacing effect is true, and is related to the anovulatory effect of prolactin (and other hormones) secreted by the anterior pituitary in response to the baby's sucking. The existence of this biological system is not surprising, as it parallels the spacing of offspring that occurs in other mammals as a consequence of mating or rutting seasons.

from "Human Milk, Nutrition and the World Resource Crisis", by D.B. Jelliffe & E.F. P. Jelliffe, in Science, USA, May 1975.

Editorial Note:

Breast feeding is not in itself a totally reliable contraceptive, as indicated by the origin of the word "kwashiorkor", which means the disease which affects the first-born if the mother gets pregnant again while breast feeding. This means that there is a need to use contraceptive methods to protect breast feeding and prevent protein-energy malnutrition.

human milk economics

A World Food Resource

In The Nutrition Factor (Brokkings Institute, USA, 1973 pp. 89-92), Alan Berg writes:

An unusual depletion in the crude oil reserves of an oil-producing country of Asia or Latin America would be termed a crisis. Its economic and social implications would be so apparent that actions to reverse the trend would be awarded high priority.

Yet a comparable crisis, involving a valuable natural resource and losses in the hundreds of millions of dollars, is going virtually unnoticed in many of the poor countries of the world.

The resource is human breast milk, and the loss is caused by the dramatic and steady decline of maternal nursing in recent decades. Already substantial in both economic and human terms, the costs and the probably major consequences suggest that methods aimed at arresting or decelerating this trend should be a prime concern in any effort to combat malnutrition.

the cost

Twenty years ago 95 percent of Chilean mothers breast fed their children beyond the first year; by 1969 only 6 percent did so, and only 20 percent of the babies were being nursed for as long as two months. Potential breast milk production in Chile in 1950 was 57,700 tons, of which all but 2,900 tons, or 5 percent, were realized.

By 1970, 78,600 tons (or 84 percent) of 93,200 potential tons were unrealized. The milk of 32,000 Chilean cows would be required to compensate for the loss. In

Kenya, where the decline in breast feeding is less dramatic, the estimated $11.5 million annual loss in breast milk is equivalent to two-thirds of the national health budget, or one-fifth of the average annual economic aid.

The estimated costs of breast milk losses would be lower if the additional calories recommended for a lactating mother were taken into account. But poor women in poor countries seldom get an enlarged or special diet during lactation. (Nearly three-quarters of low-income women studied in Gujarat and two-thirds in Maharastra reported taking no special foods during the nursing period.) When extra food is consumed, it is usually much less than is recommended. (The average intake by lactating women in India is 1,425 calories, half the recommended allowance.)

If a mother were to eat all the additive calories recommended during nursing - and efforts should be made to encourage this - the cost would still be less than a third of that necessary to provide artificial feeding to the infant.

In most low-income countries, breast feeding is the general rule in rural areas. Its abandonment is primarily an urban phenomenon, often not so much because urban mothers work, as because bottle feeding is one of the sophistications of city life that the urban migrant adopts.

An estimated 87 percent of the world's babies are born in the developing countries, about a quarter of them in urban areas. If 20 percent of the estimated 27 billion mothers in urban areas do not breast feed, the loss in breast milk is $364 million. If half of the other 80 per cent do not continue to breast feed after the first six months, the total loss reaches $780 million.

These estimates, however, clearly understate the situation; losses to developing countries more likely are in the billions.

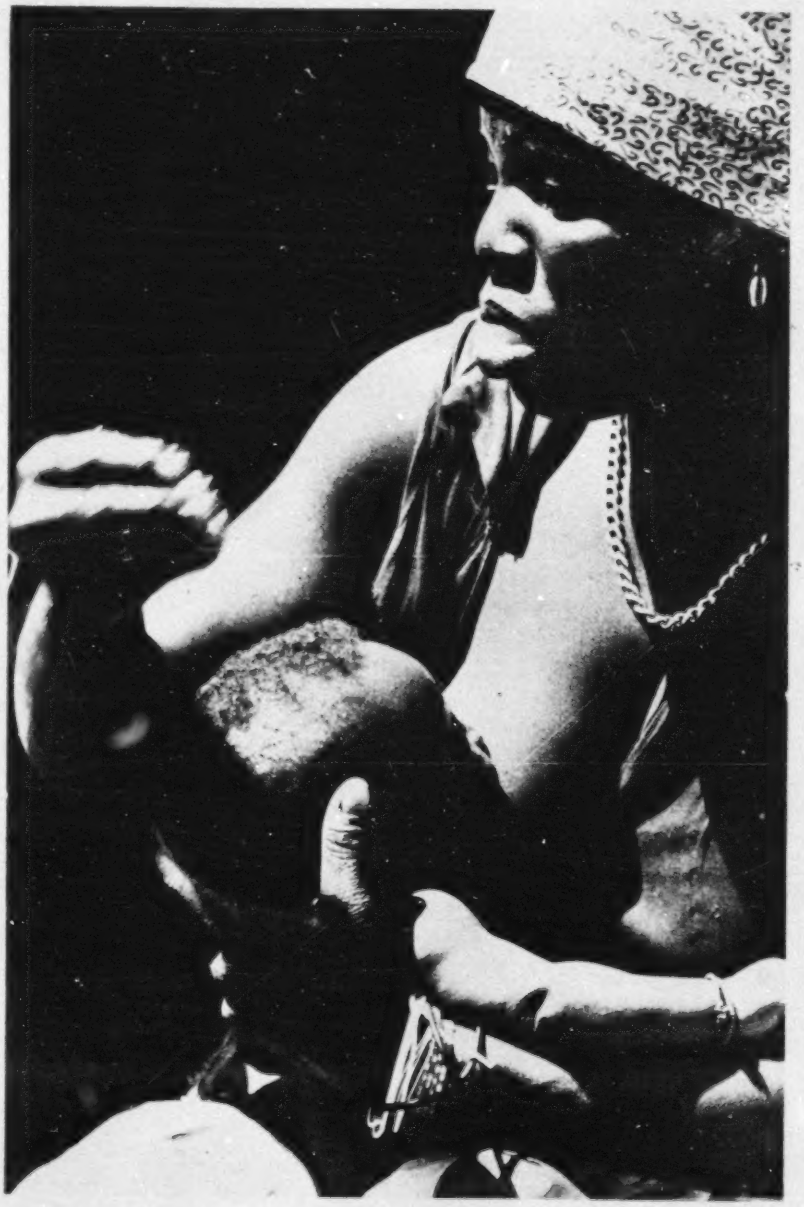


Photo UNHCR

"It should be noted here that the cost of feeding, say, a 6 months baby on an artificial baby food costing Sh. 19/75 per kilo is about Sh. 80/= per month which is 25% of the gross minimum wage. A traditional baby food comprising a mixture of cereals and legumes would be free to peasant farmers, or cost about Sh. 10/= per month in the market."

G.A. Semiti, Food and Agriculture Adviser, Ministry of National Education, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, in a letter to the Arbeitsgruppe Dritte Welt, Bern, 1975.

"In addition, the energy cost and loss of raw materials in processing, packing, distributing, preparing, and refrigerating cow's milk formulas should be considered. For example, an infant reared on ready-to-feed formula based on cow's milk will use approximately 150 cans in 6 months of bottle feeding.

With 3 million births in the United States in 1974, an overall annual consumption of 450 million usually non-recyclable cans will result, with a waste of 70,000 tons of tinplate each year."

D.B. Jelliffe and E.F.P. Jelliffe, in "Human Milk, Nutrition and the World Food Crisis", in Science, USA, May 1975.

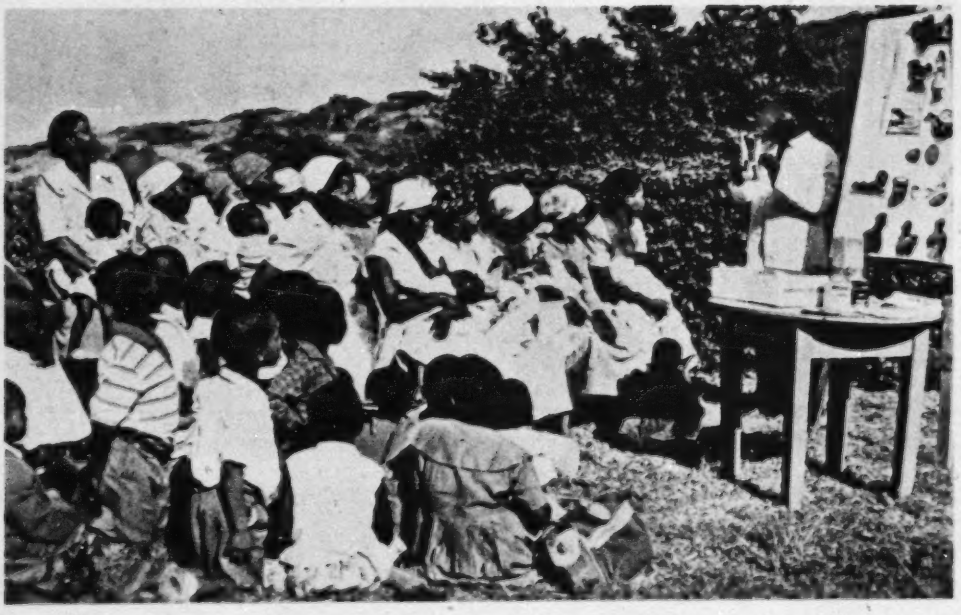
2
marketing

who and how?
what does it look like?
do women have a choice?

The companies concerned are numerous, but the major ones are NESTLÉ (Switzerland), COW & GATE (United Kingdom), GLAXO (United Kingdom), ABBOTT (also called Ross Laboratories, USA), AMERICAN HOME PRODUCTS (Wyeth Laboratories, USA), BRISTOL-MYERS (Mead Johnson, USA), and DUMEX (Det Ost-Asiatiske Kompagni, Denmark). It is not possible here to give details of all these companies, but readers who are interested in pursuing this should consult the Resources section of this guide for details of groups/liberature dealing with the companies.

"...There are 81 Nestlé product factories in 27 developing countries where we employ over 27,000 people out of a total of 116,000, and many more are planned. It should not be overlooked that these factories make a lasting contribution since, once they have been built, they cannot be shifted or destroyed. Thus, they will always work for the benefit of the country's economy."
P. Liotard-Vogt, Nestlé President, 1975

Nestlé "Mothers' Adviser"



marketing: unethical methods

What follows is part of the statement by Dr. D.B. Jelliffe, School of Public Health, Los Angeles, November 1974. It was submitted to the Bern Court as testimony for the Defence in the Nestlé libel case, heard on 26 February 1976 (see section 3, Switzerland, for details).

Causes for this change in pattern of infant feeding are multiple, complex and "occidentogenic" (derived from Western cultural influences). They include principally the effects of health services and health staff (who have not been trained to appreciate the dangers of bottle feeding in such circumstances), various factors in the changed life-style adopted by new townsmen (including the usually small percentage of mothers who have to go to work outside the home) and the unethical promotion of the sale of formulas by commercial concerns.

The adjective "unethical" is used in this context as such advertisements include the use of techniques of persuasion and motivation based on prestige, upward social mobility, etc. in communities where (a) there is no possibility of such formulas being purchaseable in adequate quantities or used in a cleanly fashion, and/or (b) in communities where breast feeding is still the norm.

All major infant food firms, especially the large international concerns, have continually carried out such advertising and promotional campaigns in competition with each other in less developed countries since World War II.

Without any doubt whatsoever, they have been one of the major factors responsible for the present decline in breast feeding in areas where bottle feeding is neither economically nor hygienically feasible.

They have therefore also been responsible in considerable measure for the present rise in the prevalence of marasmus and diarrheal disease in such regions with its high mortality, costly and prolonged treatment, and considerable risk of permanent brain damage.

"Advertising by commercial milk firms was on an even vaster scale than at first anticipated. 14% of the mothers said they were encouraged to bottle feed by a commercial milk nurse. However, many more had been visited at home and given samples of proprietary milk. The hospital itself was used as a centre for easy access to post-partum mothers, and the commerical milk nurses waited outside the post-natal clinics with free milk samples.

The influence of advertising is probably much greater than the 14% indicated. In view of the increased incidence of gastro-enteritis associated with bottle feeding, this must be a cause for concern."

S. Grantham-McGregor, "Breast Feeding in Kingston Jamaica," Arch. Dis. Chldhd. 1970, 45, 404.

The methods employed in such promotional campaigns have included the widest use of mass media, such as the newspapers, radio, and in some circumstances television. The hold of such advertisers on the mass media of developing countries is because they are often the main (or only) source of revenue.

posters/charts

In addition, milk companies, have flooded the health services with advertising and promotional material, directly and indir-

ectly. Direct advertising may be via posters, pamphlets and free samples "to assist in the running of the clinic". These are particularly difficult to resist as to health personnel inexperienced

> "Can you imagine a healthy, well fed mother leaving a government delivery ward with a tin of free NAN tinned milk for her two-day old baby? This is the best way of discouraging breast feeding and spreading the bottle and the manufacturers know where to grab us."
>
> *Dr. T.N. Maletnlema, "Breast Feeding is the Best for Your Baby," in Sunday News, Tanzania, 8.12.74. Nan is a Nestlé product.*

in such matters these seem only to be offers of much needed help in circumstances where there is a shortage of teaching material and of supplementary foods.

All too often the walls of health centers and hospitals can be covered with posters donated by infant food companies. The paradox of the hard-pressed public health nurse teaching one thing and posters more forcefully declaiming another is very frequently not appreciated by health staff.

In addition, milk companies, as with the pharmaceutical industry, have become adept at what is to them low-cost molding of professional opinion by "manipulation by assistance" and by "endorsement by association".

milk nurses

One of the most insidious forms of advertising and promotion is that carried out by so-called "milk nurses". These are trained nurses who are attracted understandably by better conditions of service from government work to commerce. They are employed by milk companies in theory to assist governmental health services with infant care and hygiene, including home visiting. In fact, one of their major functions is to promote directly and indirectly the products of the particular company, in competition with other groups of milk nurses employed by other companies. They usually are able to gain entry to hospitals, even if this is forbidden by regulations, and to give free samples to mothers and to nursing staff. In addition, they obtain the names and addresses of mothers who have given birth and

> "I happened to see them by chance - there was never an official introduction - and when they became aware of my critical attitude, they avoided me and dealt with the health sister only. Not surprisingly, I saw more and more feeding bottles, for instance in the small village Igangan, where I saw on a certain day 10 out of 36 mothers waiting for the clinic, carrying a feeding bottle in their bag, the inside of the teats black encrusted."
>
> *Catherine A.M. WENNEN-van der Mey M.D., from her statement to the Bern Court, 1974.*

visit them at home with advice, information and free samples. They are, in fact, a network of promoters of the particular product.

the need?

The point of view often expressed by such milk firms is that, in fact, they fill a felt need. According to this perspective mothers in urban regions will inevitably fail to breast feed and their products will, therefore, be available to fill the vaccuum. In fact, the percentage of mothers in such developing countries who are going out to work away from home and

who may, therefore, require some form of artificial bottle feeds varies considerably, but is often rather small. In any case, the argument of milk companies in this regard is without substance, as the need under these circumstances would be for a low-cost, minimally advertised form of breast milk surrogate and not for the extremely costly and highly advertised formulas promoted by infant food companies.

In discussion with senior officials from infant food companies it is often contended that in fact their company was not involved in such unethical, high-pressure promotional tactics or, alternatively, that such practices as the use of commercial milk nurses was on the decline. Such does not seem to be the case. In particular, in Kingston, Jamaica, very considerable attention has been given to this subject in recent years, and milk companies are well aware of the concern that informed pediatric and nutritional professionals have in this regard. A recent study undertaken by the Tropical Metabolism Research Unit at the University of the West Indies in early 1973 showed that nearly one-fifth of mothers giving birth at the University Hospital of the West Indies were visited shortly after the delivery by commercial milk nurses, who were not officially permitted to enter ward, and were given samples of their milks.

Nestlé processes 7,500,000 tons of milk per year, and reckons to be the world's largest buyer of both coffee and cocoa.

and the medical profession?

"Although many individual doctors recommend breast feeding, the medical profession as a whole has stood on the sidelines throughout this minor social revolution. 'The medical profession was not supportive of the decision to breast feed', says Helen Guthrie, Professor of Nutrition at Pennsylvania State University, who conducted a survey in 1965 to find out what was influencing women to breast feed.

A major US textbook on pediatrics allocates only one and a half of its 1600 pages to breast feeding, and these fail even to mention let-down reflex, the physiological mechanism that allows the milk to flow. Medical schools still devote very little attention to breast feeding, not because they have anything particular against it, but because nutrition in general is a subject too unimportant to take up much room in the curriculum.

When a department of pediatrics was established at an African university, a large baby food company offered a pediatrics prize and $1,000 research grant. 'Here for a very little outlay they had modified the action of the pediatrics department'.

If pediatricians are willing to be so easily manipulated, if they fail to observe clearly the needs of the poor client, this is as serious a problem as inappropriate advertising,' says Max Milner, director of the secretariat for the UN Protein-Advisory Group (Mr. Milner stresses this is his personal and not official view)."

from "Bottle Feeding: Adverse effects of Western Technology", by Nicholas Wade, in Science, vol. 184 No. 4132.

western culture: the myth

"Food aid carried out by international organisations or charitable institutions can be extremely useful in specific cases, but it can also be a "poisoned gift", in so far as it leads the population into the habit of consuming food that the country itself cannot produce. Apart from emergency situations where it is necessary to give food, it is much more fruitful to help the population to use the available resources more adequately; it is a more difficult thing to do but in the long run much more effective in helping the development of these countries.

- Many mothers are convinced that only imported foreign fruits contain vitamins and are "good for the health" of their children. In fact the very idea of "vitamins", which is foreign to them, is associated with imported fruit. In addition, many doctors and nurses prescribe "a spoonful of orange juice" because that was what they learnt during their studies in Europe, and they simply do not know the vitamin C content of the local fruits.

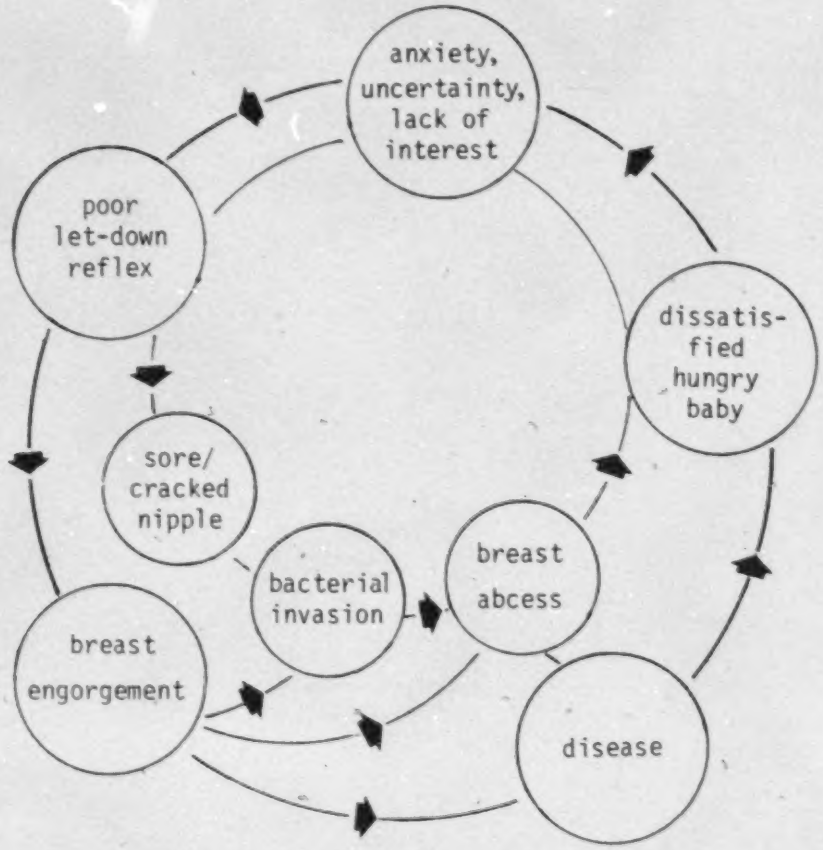
- In the same way, skilful advertising has succeeded in persuading many women "that tinned milk bought at the chemists' is better than mother's milk". First of all it is expensive, thus it must be good, and secondly it is sold by people in white coats in the chemists', which must indicate "health value". In areas where the majority of women have little or no education, have no knowledge of elementary hygiene (and even if they learnt it, it is extremely difficult to apply because of living conditions, lack of fresh water etc.), the use of bottles and powdered milk causes thousands of cases of serious gastro-enteritis."

from "Evolution de l'Alimentation dans les pays en voie de développement", de T. Brun et H. Dupin, dans Cahiers Nut. Diét., VIII,4, mars 1975.

THE LET-DOWN REFLEX

This is the psycho-somatic reflex of the mother which is responsible for the actual ejection of milk. It depends on her feeling of confidence and ability to breast feed.

The following diagram shows the vicious circle occurring when there is a lack of confidence. The sum total is <u>failure of lactation</u>.



"Too often the result will be that the over-worked midwife makes the immediate diagnosis of 'not enough milk' or 'milk does not suit the baby', and either the baby is removed or at best a temporary bottle feed is given. The effect of the bottle is to further diminish the mother's confidence and to encourage the baby to accept more easily the milk which is so often over-sweetened." (*Dr. David Morley in <u>Paediatric Priorities in the Developing World</u>, 1973*)

"The phrase 'if or when your breast milk fails' is the best sabotage to the let-down reflex I know." (*Professor Derrick Jelliffe, during evidence given at the Bern Court case, February 1976*)

from PAN - independent newspaper of the World Food Conference, Rome November, 1974

"Western culture is very persuasive and all over the world different peoples have been attempting to mimic it, including its taste in food. Consequently malnutrition and disease have spread into areas once free of them. Refined carbohydrates and meat lacking essential fats but riddled with adipose fat, are the biggest scourge. The incidences of diabetes, peptic ulcer, intestinal diverticulitis, dental caries, renal stones, and heart disease have all soared over the past 50 years except where people still live on their traditional diets.

Nutritionists have a very important role not only in identifying malnutrition so that help can be forthcoming, but also in ensuring that the diet of the people should be soundly based, preferably on traditional foods when these are seen to be wholesome.

Too often indigenous food sources are overlooked, when their exploitation could counter malnutrition. The tragedy is that people on the brink of malnutrition tend to abandon their traditional foods for commercial food. They give up breast feeding, use polished rice instead of home-pounded rice, and refined flour and sugar instead of using whole grains."

from "Malnutrition - Don't Force-Feed New Diets", by Peter Bunyard in PAN - newspaper of the World Food Conference, Rome November 1975.

exploitation: whose world?

Who Takes Decisions about Breast Feeding?

Originally breasts evolved for the production of milk. Lactation was a prerequisite for successful reproduction. For thousands of years there was no realistic alternative, although milk was available from domesticated animals.

Just over 50 years ago the necessary technology began to become available to those who could afford it. Before this time women of the higher social classes who did not want to breast feed, or who could not breast feed, might hire a lactating woman of a lower social class, often an unmarried mother who had ruined her chances of supporting herself through getting married. Women of lower classes who for some reason were unable to breast feed faced a serious problem indeed.

During the interval between the two world wars, the bottle-and-teat technology and the necessary infrastructure improved in the West, and became available to more and more women, but it was not until the 1940's that the decline in breast feeding really gained momentum. Today there are European countries where breast feeding is almost non-existant. For a period of time more and more women were bottle feeding their babies, giving a variety of different reasons for it.

female culture

One of the most likely reasons for the decline in breast feeding seems to have been the loss of the traditional female culture, with increasing urbanisation and modernisation. In the traditional female culture, support and advice on breast feeding were offered to any inexperienced mother.

Our modern culture has never developed any replacement for the women's culture. The health service has done its best to teach young and inexperienced mothers what they need to know about child care, generally basing their educational efforts on the attitude that women are ignorant about this scientific subject.

The producers of all kinds of articles for "modern childcare" have for years been assisting the health services with informative brochures and samples for mothers. Industry has hitherto been dominated by men who themselves cannot breast feed and who have no understanding or sympathy for the traditional women's culture. It has been far easier to obtain information on how to correctly prepare a bottle-feed than about how to increase one's own milk production.

labour force

In theory the decline of breast feeding enables women to do work which may be needed to keep society functioning - usually low-paid unskilled work. But in periods when the labour of women is not regarded as vital to society, it becomes important to emphasise her role as mother and homemaker. Naturally things are not put as crudely as this.

The emphasis is on the femininity of women, and this ideology is successfully communicated, especially by the growing communications industry. The image of woman presented is that of a passive, elegant, sexy object, with large, firm breasts. This emphasis on the beautiful breasts makes it important that she should not ruin their shape. It has erroneously been believed that lactation causes sagging of the breasts. The most important aspect of the breasts is no longer their glandular function but their importance as a source of erotic stimulation.

And at work, even though in some countries the law provides for this, women have no

facilities or social encouragement to breast feed. The day nursery, if it exists at all, is probably too far from the workplace to make breast feeding realistic.

self-confidence

Consequently the market was sound for the development of a commercial/industrial product to substitute the breast milk. Until the late 1950's the content in the bottles had been diluted cows milk with sugar. Today there are many baby foods producers who with great conviction and much money market "the best milk that money can buy".

The results of research clearly show that it is impossible to produce a food which can replace breast milk with regard to composition of nutrients, ability to protect against infection, avoidance of allergies and freedom from contamination. But research does not have the same money at its disposal for publicising its findings.

Gradually the self-confidence of women and their faith in their own abilities and values, have been successfully undermined.

The disruption of the extended family and traditional agriculture, increased urbanisation, adoption of Westernized lifestyles, the impossibility of finding work for a woman who is breast feeding - all these factors make an autonomous decision about breast feeding almost impossible.

The decline in breast feeding is caused by by socio-economic developments in society and is not the result of autonomous decisions by women themselves.

Only when women can begin to define their own needs, only when they refuse to accept these needs as belonging simply to "the private sector", will some fundamental change be possible.

Adapted from an article by Brita Brandtzæg, M.Sc., Elisabet Helsing (nutritionist) and Marit Kromberg, MD, DTM & H, Norway, 1975.

the real sucker

At the beginning of this booklet, the FAO was quoted as saying "Early weaning under the conditions which prevail in developing countries can be singled out as the main cause of malnutrition in the infant."

This statement seems to indicate that it is poverty that makes bottle feeding dangerous. For poor people this makes bottle feeding a status symbol (implies wealth). Yet it has been shown (page 11) that, on the contrary, bottle feeding involves a risk even in rich communities.

Therefore the infant formula marketing case raises fundamental questions for us in the West, more especially for women. It is women who are the "victims" of consumerism, of these values evoked by rich and powerful manufacturers, to be more sexy, more cool, more wifely, more beautiful, with slimmer hips and more beautiful breasts, - status symbols for our men. As Lucy Komisar writes :-

> "Advertising is an insidious propaganda machine for a male supremacist society. It spews out images of women as sex-mates, housekeepers, mothers and menial workers - images that perhaps reflect the true status of most women in society, but which also make it increasingly difficult for women to break out of the sexist stereotypes that imprison them." (*Women in Sexist Society, Signet, USA 1972*)

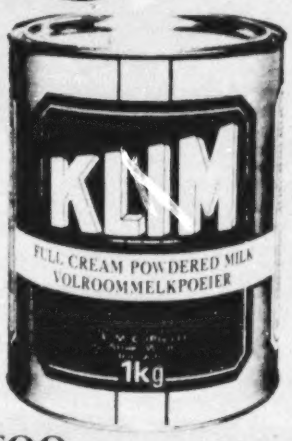
Whether we are talking about middle America or the Kenyan outback, women who want to be mothers as well are no longer part of the public sector - their contribution is in the home, in the "private sector".

Somewhere along the line women have been sucked into the status-symbol game, and have forfeited the capacity to choose, and have lost some basic rights for themselves and for their children.

Jane Cottingham and Marit Kromberg

Give him KLIM and watch him grow!

Klim is full of goodness to build strong bodies, bones and teeth. Give your baby the best full cream powdered milk — give him Klim.



KLIM IS GOOD FOR YOUR BABY AND YOUR GROWING CHILDREN TOO.

KVS 60834

An example of subtle advertising. (KLIM is a trademark of BORDEN's, USA).

Let me tell a typical story: A Swedish baby-food producing firm every year has a one-day symposium for paediatricians, and in 1973 the theme for the meeting was "human milk and breastfeeding". Among other things, the question of why modern mothers did not breastfeed was raised.

One after the other, the venerable persons gave their contributions to the explanation of the mysterious question: "Why do 'they' not breastfeed?" Nobody had actually hit upon the idea to ask one of "them" - the mothers - to offer an explanation.

When I entered the rostrum, I was the very first woman to talk about the subject, and, as a matter of fact, I had had to invite myself to the symposium, and to ask for permission to speak.

In this field, as in most fields that are regarded as interesting, women are most conveniently "forgotten".

Let me mention one very distasteful example: in medical journals you may all have seen an advertisement for a drug that inhibits lactation. There is a picture of a beautiful lady, who lovingly looks at her little baby-bundle, all lace, make-up and glamour. And it is triumphantly stated in the advertisement, with big letters: SHE IS INHIBITED - AND DOESN'T KNOW IT.

The message is double: a lovely woman-doll of course wouldn't care less; for s h e i s inhibited in her life situation (as these ugly women libbers claim) and she doesn't question what her doctor does to her. The fact that no milk comes to her breasts does not even make her wonder. She must be the perfect woman-doll-patient.

Are we that silly? Sometimes I wonder. When, for example, a mother has asked for breastfeeding advice from both her grandmother, who has breastfed five children, and her doctor who has breastfed none, she tends to disregard what her grandmother says in favour of the advice from the doctor. Even if doctors say wrong things about breastfeeding, grandmothers have to give in.

The woman's "reproduction culture" - our foremothers' knowledge and tradition in connection with birth and breastfeeding, are by many sociologists not regarded as any culture at all, and have very scarcely been studied. Thus the knowledge and tradition in connection with this event have been largley ignored.

And when the ties with the big family and traditional society are severed, for instance when a young couple moves to town in search of a "new" life, the knowledge in connection with breastfeeding disappears. The young mother has few to ask for advice if her nipples hurt, if her baby is a poor sucker, or when her milk supply dwindles. Instead, she is exposed to "knowledge" about bottle-feeding - or at least to the image that bottle-feeding is easy to do and will secure her baby's health.

One main misconcept about breastfeeding is that the knowledge about "how to do it" is inherent in any woman. This is not so. Whether we have a "motherly instinct" or not may be discussed. Ideally, when a couple have a baby, they assume a "parent responsibility". But practical knowledge about what to do is not inherent in the breastfeeding mother. So when problems arise, which they unavoidably do to a varying degree among three-fourths of the women giving birth - she has to get advice. And this has to be advice based upon knowledge about the function of the breasts - not theories about how the bottle should be given.

The female biological functions often have a slightly ridiculous ring. When I talk about breastfeeding, which I quite often do, I have had to to erate a lot of condescending laughter from my fellow men, which I usually meet by starting to talk about women's liberation in order to make them nervous.

From "Women's Liberation and Breast-Feeding", Elisabet Helsing, in Environmental Child Health, October 1975, pp. 290-292. This whole issue is entitled "Symposium on Breast-feeding" containing many interesting articles on all aspects of breast-feeding.

3
action

This section gives an overview of what has been - and is still being - done in various countries in the West, about the marketing of baby foods, especially on impetus from publication of The Baby Killer in England in 1974.

Information is based mostly on material received from groups themselves. Where this is sparse, it is not necessarily an indication of lack of activity, but lack of information at time of going to press.

It is intended to give a perspective on what kinds of things can be done at different levels, by local and national groups.

Actions taken by the international humanitarian bodies, or national governments, are not included here. However, several governments (e.g. Papua New Guinea and Sweden) have taken steps to curb or ban advertising of commercial infant foods. The World Health Organisation, Food and Agriculture Organisation, the United Nations Protein-calorie Advisory Group, and the International Paediatrics Association have all issued official statements about both the crucial importance of breast feeding and the necessity to curb advertising of substitutes (see Resources section for listings).

AUSTRALIA

Action for World Development
100 Flinders Street
MELBOURNE
Victoria 3000

Two copies of the film available.

CANADA

Development Edation Centre
121 A Avenue Road, Toronto,
ONTARIO M5R 2G3
Tel. (416) 964 6560

In November 1975 made a mass mailing throughout Canada on the Nestlé/Third World Action Group case. Film available.

Oxfam Ontario
175 Carlton Street, Toronto
ONTARIO

Undertook a major educational thrust in April 1976, including diffusion of the film, "Bottle Babies".

DENMARK

NOAH
Radhusstrede 14,
1466 COPENHAGEN
Tel. 01/15 60 52

Late 1975 produced a small booklet in Danish, based on "The Baby Killer". Members of the group have also produced a cartoon film in Danish on the issue for use in schools.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Teldok Films
Schillerstr. 52,
D-78 FREIBURG
Tel. 0761/75 752

Summer 1975 production of the film "Bottle Babies" ("Flaschenkinder") by Peter Krieg of Teldok Films. The film won the Silver Medal in the International Science and Technology Film Festival in Tokyo, February 1976. Many copies of it are now available in Europe, North America and Africa. Film available at:

Landeszentrale für pol. Bildung,
Mannesmannufer 1 a,
D-4000 DUSSELDORF.

or Evang. Medienzentrale,
Theodor Heuss Str.23
D-7000 STUTTGART 1.

Arbeitsgruppe für sozialökonomische Probleme,
c/o Georg Biemann
Brauweilerstr. 48
D-5000 KOLN 40

Group formed in 1975 during an action and educational campaign in several German towns in support of the United Farm Workers' action in USA. The group got to know about the activities of Nestlé subsidiaries in the USA and used this information to start focusing in on what has become their main concern: project Bottle Babies.

Their main aim is an informational one: to inform the public, various organizations and groups, and the mass media, about the socio-economic problems involved, and to establish an information exchange with groups in other countries.

Rainer Stiehl
Lorscherstr. 27
D-60380 BAD HOMBURG
Tel. 06172/4 65 16

A new group formed in order to work on the problem of infant foods in the Third World.

HOLLAND

In mid-1975 the Feministies-socialistiese Vrouwenwerkgroep in Amsterdam published their Dutch translation of "The Baby Killer". They printed 1,000 copies which sold out very quickly, and a further 500 copies were printed on request from a group in Ghent (Belgium).

There has been much press coverage of the Nestlé/Third World Working Group case, and on 26 November 1975 the Dutch television network, IKOR/CVK/RKK showed the "Bottle Babies" film on nation-wide television. It is now available at the Tropical Institute, Amsterdam.
In the meantime a group has been formed in Rotterdam to continue action on the issue:

DE CLAT
c/o Me. W. Harms
Rusthoflaan 12,
Rotterdam
Tel. 010/120 511

This group is specifically examining and collecting data on Nestlé activities in Latin America.

NORWAY

"Ammenjelpen"
Boks 15, Holmen,
OSLO 3

"Ammehjelpen" is a non-political, independent organisation founded in 1968 with the aim of giving information about breast feeding in Norway. It has a centre for exchange of information. Membership is increasing, and there are about 250 "assisting mothers" (women who have passed a minor examination to assist mothers needing practical advice on how to breast feed) all over the country.

"Mot Sult" Kampanjen
Pilestredet 57, OSLO 1
Tel. 60 68 71

This is the Norwegian section of the Freedom from Hunger Campaign of the Food and Agriculture Organisation.

These two groups are joining forces to monitor the activities of industry in Norway and to diffuse information on breast feeding and on the "bottle babies" issue. They write:-

National Actions:

- in 1974 the Norwegian Social Department appointed a committee with the purpose of presenting a recommendation on conditions and consequences of breast feeding in Norway;

- a book has been written on this subject for women wanting to breast feed. This has been translated into Danish and Swedish. A brochure, "How to

breast feed your child", has also been published and distributed. Translations have been made of this brochure into Lappish, Danish, English and French.

International Actions:

- publicity: a group of people, many of whom are taking active part in the work of "Ammehjelpen", have taken action to have this matter elucidated on various occasions in the mass media in Norway. Several newspaper articles have been written. Radio programmes have been made, and lectures given by the above groups;

- Norwegian mass media have also been informed about the present court case brought by Nestlé against the Third World Working Group;

- pressure: the Norwegian delegation to the FAO 17th General Assembly, 1973, raised the matter of the Third World women and powdered baby milks. The statement of Mr. Thorstein Treholt, Minister of Agriculture, Norway, expressed concern at the loss of natural protein resource and subsequent deterioration in hygiene and health by use of artificial substitutes;

- the issue was raised again at the World Food Conference in 1974 by the Norwegian Delegation, which called upon the conference to review the harmful and increasing tendency in developing countries to use artificial baby foods, and proposed a resolution for human milk to be protected as a natural resource for every country.

The above two organisations report "a pleasant increase in breast feeding frequency in Norway".

SWITZERLAND

Arbeitsgruppe Dritte Welt
(Third World Action Group)
Postfach 1007, 3001 BERN
Tel. (031) 23 20 18 or
(031) 24 58 79

In 1968 a group of students in Bern started a campaign at Christmas called "Denken statt Schenken" (think rather than buy presents) to draw attention to the huge discrepancy between Swiss affluence and the poverty in much of the rest of the world.

In 1970 this same group became the "Angola Group" when it waged a massive campaign against the building of the Cabora Bassa dam, and especially the involvement of the Swiss company Brown-Boveri. The group then became the "Arbeitsgruppe Dritte Welt", and began to mushroom with the continuation of the Christmas campaign in other parts of Switzerland - Basel, Fribourg, Zug, Zürich. In 1973, although functioning independently, these groups formed themselves into a network - SAFEP (Schweizerische Arbeitsgruppen für Entwicklungspolitik - Swiss Action Groups for International Development).

For the past 7 years the Arbeitsgruppe has been engaged in continuous study and action on Swiss involvement in Third World Countries (Chile, South Africa, Portuguese Africa) and such issues as development assistance law, arms sales and Unctad 3. They had already been studying multinational companies in Switzerland for a year when the Baby Killer first appeared in print.

Action Group versus Economic Imperialism - a case without precedent

In 1974 the Third World Working Group in Bern translated the English publication "The Baby Killer" into German and published it with the title "NESTLE TOETET BABYS" (Nestlé Kills Babies).

The title, the introduction and the summary of the English study were changed, and replaced by a Swiss version. A short chapter on baby nutrition in England was left out.

In Zug (Switzerland) a text-poster that summarized the accusation against Nestlé was published. Then two members of the Third World Group in Zug wrote an open letter to Nestlé which found repercussions in Swiss and Austrian newspapers.

Many newspapers in Switzerland and the Swiss television reported on the paper and made summaries.

In July 1974 Nestlé Alimentana AG, Cham and Vevey, Switzerland, submitted several libel suits claiming damage to their reputation. The criminal charge submitted in Bern contains the following points (summarised):

Nestlé claimed it had been defamed because "the whole report charges Nestlé with using incorrect sales promotion in the Third World and of pulling mothers away from breast feeding their babies and turning them to its own products".

Nestlé mentions above all the following passages as defamatory:

(a) the title "Nestlé Kills Babies"

(b) the charge that the practices of Nestlé and other companies are unethical and immoral (written in the introduction and in the report itself)

(c) the accusation of being responsible for the death or the permanent physical and mental damage of thousands of babies by its sales promotion policy (in the introduction)

(d) the accusation that in developing countries the sales representatives for the baby foods are dressed like nurses to give the sales promotion a scientific appearance.

The legal action, pending for over a year, finally began on 26 and 27 November 1975 in Bern. The plaintiff was Nestlé Alimentana AG, Cham and Vevey (counsel: Hans Peter Walter, Bern); the defendants, 13 members of the Third World Action Group, Bern, and of the responsible association for KONZEPT, (counsel: Gerhard Lehmann, Bern, and Moritz Leuenberger, Zürich). The judge was Chief Presiding Judge Sollberger, Richteramt VIII, Bern.

The case ended after a three-day session, on 24th June 1976, after Nestlé had withdrawn all but the first of its charges, the one concerning the title. The judge found the defendants guilty on this charge, fining each member of the group 300 Swiss francs. However, he emphasized that this was by no means to be taken as an acquittal of Nestlé. If the company wanted to avoid the risk in future of being accused of unethical and immoral advertising, it must thoroughly reconsider its promotion practices. The verdict rested solely on the wording of the title of the publication and not on the accuracy of the accusations against the Swiss company. In addition, the judge pronounced that the legal costs of the trial were to be divided into three, Nestlé, the Third World Action Group and the State each paying one third. (For a detailed description of the whole case, readers who understand German should see Export-interessen gegen Muttermilch, by the Third World Action Group, Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, November 1976).

UNITED KINGDOM

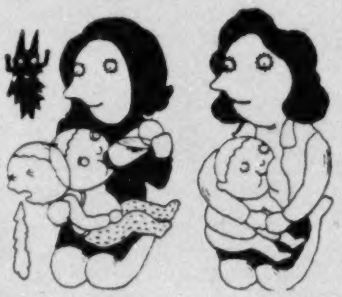
Baby Foods Action Group
(BFAG), c/o War on Want,
467 Caledonian Road,
LONDON N7 9BE.
Tel: 01/609 0211

Film available from
War on Want (above) and
Concord Film Distribution,
Nacton, IPSWICH.

After a visit to the UK by members of the Third World Action Group, a meeting was convened of people working in the development agencies to discuss the implications of the trial and the need for a campaign in Britain. It resulted in the forming of the BFAG - a loosely-structured group in which people working with development and church agencies participate.

The aims of the group were:

- to encourage restrictions on the inappropriate commercial promotion and distribution of artificial baby milks in the Third World and the West;
- to show how the harmful trend away from breast feeding to bottle feeding is an example of what happens when societies are based on production for profit rather than for use.



Most members of the group felt that the focus of attention should be the link between the problem in the Third World and the parallel situation in Britain.

Chronology of Action in the UK

1973: - publication of two articles in the New Internationalist, "Action now on baby foods" (August) and "Milk and murder" (October)

1974: - publication and (3 months later) reprint of The Baby Killer by Mike Muller, published by War on Want. An investigation describing the problems of processed baby food in developing countries, based on more than 40 scientific works;

- statement by the Rt. Hon. Judith Hart, Minister of Overseas Development, about the harmful effects of widespread promotion of bottle feeding to an unsophisticated community;
- formation of the BFAG;
- publication of a government report entitled "Present Day Practice in infant feeding";

1975: - 2nd edition of The Baby Killer with appendix (May);
- December 1st: 30 minute documentary on the issue, with a focus on the Nestlé trial shown on BBC television, in the programme "Panorama".

BFAG Action - the group writes:

International

- publicity: on the specific issues raised by The Baby Killer and the Swiss trial, the group has regularly contacted the press, radio and television.
- research/information gathering: in 1974 BFAG and the Third World Action Group sent Mike Muller to West Africa to collect further information on the problem for use in Switzerland and the UK.

National

- medical profession: within Britain the group has made many contacts with interested organisations in the medical and development fields. A medical sub-group was established to involve doctors, nutritionists, midwives, etc. One product of this has been the distribution of information together with a questionnaire on milk company activities to paediatricians in many developing countries;
- meetings: the group has held meetings with local development groups, women's and students' organisations. The completion of the film "Bottle Babies" has helped considerably in this.

UNITED STATES

Eco-Justice Task Force,
Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR),
475 Riverside Drive,
New York, NY 10027
Tel. (212) 870-2295
(coordinator: Leah Margulies)
Film available.

An ecumenical agency that helps twenty-three protestant denominations and more than fifty Roman Catholic orders to challenge corporations to accept social responsibility for their policies. One of their concerns has been the practices of corporations of marketing and aggressively promoting infant formulas as a substitute for mother's milk.

Leah Margulies writes:

Work was pioneered by the Consumers Union, whose staff devoted a chapter of Hungry for Profits, a forthcoming book, to infant malnutrition. The work was previewed as "Formula for Malnutrition" in The Corporate Examiner, the publication of the ICCR (April 1975).

International Action

Leah Margulies brought up the issue at the International Women's Year Tribune in Mexico, June 1975, where it was discussed with women from many different countries.

In October 1975 the ICCR sent a request with questionnaires to over 1000 overseas church-related personnel, to investigate the impact of formula sales in their locale and to document, if possible, the role of companies, clinics, hospitals, health care professionals and governmental policies in promoting either bottle or breast feeding.

National Action

One of the major parts of the campaign to end Third World Market exploitation by producers of infant formula include stockholder disclosure resolutions sponsored by church groups, submitted to American companies which, with Nestlé, dominate the market.

A stockholder's resolution is a formal proposal that seeks information, action or adoption of a particular policy. A shareholder submits the resolution for publication in the corporation's proxy statement (like an annual general report), and stockholders then vote for or against the resolution. In general, resolutions deal with some aspect of corporate responsibility. These were filed with the three largest companies, Abbott, American Home Products and Bristol-Myers, asking specific information regarding sales and marketing operations, promotional practices, and the companies' efforts to educate the consumer about the benefits of breast feeding and the requirements for safe bottle feeding.

Both American Home Products and Abbott published a statement of concern in 1975, but action is still being undertaken to get them to publish more detailed information.

Bristol-Myers, on the other hand, were very reluctant to cede under pressure, but finally published a report entitled "The infant formula marketing practices of the Bristol-Myers Company in countries outside the United States". This caused an enormous storm, and allegedly contains false information.

As a result, in the early part of 1976, the Sisters of the Precious Blood - a Catholic congregation - filed a lawsuit against the company. The lawsuit states that Bristol-Myers - whose subsidiary Mead Johnson markets baby foods world wide - has misled shareholders about their sales promotion practices in developing countries. This action is being coordinated by ICCR.

At the end of September 1976 ICCR submitted their brief to Bristol-Myers' lawyers. It is 80 pages long with over 1,000 pages of supporting materials including affadavits (signed legal documents) from all over the world, giving evidence that Bristol-Myers have lied about their sales and marketing practices.

The case continues.

Congressional Resolution: as a result of widespread publicity on the issue in the US, several members of Congress have submitted a resolution to the House of Representatives to study the promotion and misuse abroad of infant formula as a substitute for mother's milk. It calls on the Agency for International Development "to devise and carry out in partnership with developing nations a multifaceted strategy designed to promote breast feeding". It also requests the President to undertake a comprehensive study of the nature, extent, and effect of infant formula use in developing nations.

epilogue

in defence of intolerance

When three polar bear cubs died in the Cologne zoo some time ago from bacterially polluted powdered milk sold for babies, the newspapers expressed indignation and compassion. Yet the fact that human babies are dying every day in countries of the Third World from the consequences of being fed with such powdered milk is registered by public opinion only when courts deal with the question. Have we become numb to human misery or have we only been deluded as to its scope and its causes?

I believe it is both: the sheer amount of misery and the sheer amount of lies about the origin of misery have made us numb.

Every day we are overwhelmed with bulletins by the media, by politicians and by company spokesmen who, armed with allegedly objective arguments by "scientists", ascribe hunger and pauperization in the Third World to "overpopulation", "difficult climatic conditions" or even to the "stupidity of those concerned". Those who work in the media, as I do, can see very quickly that there are alternative but less desirable explanations for these things, and that there are solid political and economic reasons for the concealment of the real causes of hunger and misery.

The case of the Bottle Babies shows these real causes particularly clearly. Not least for this reason was it impossible to secure financial support for the film from television, state or even church authorities. "As far as we know, powdered milk above all saves lives". "It seems to us all they want to do is to attack the multinational corporations". These were among the reasons given for the refusals. Only when the film was completed and the topic had become "newsworthy" due to the Nestlé court case, did a few television stations find it possible to show at least a few minutes of the film.

It is not difficult to see that the same forces that create hunger and misery seek to prevent the truth from being known. At a time when the technological and economic conditions exist to produce enough food for a multiple of the world population, when unemployment and mass misery co-exist with immense wealth, at such a time we cannot and must not be content with explaining such conditions by "difficult climatic condition", "overpopulation" or "stupidity".

The real stupidity does not lie with the Third World mothers who are unable to read the instructions on the tins of powdered milk, but with those who consider this to be the main cause of the deaths of bottle babies. It is just as necessary to combat "stupidity" caused and maintained by deception

as it is necessary to combat illiteracy in the Third World. Our own "illiteracy" is that the mechanisms of the world economy are to us like the working of an aeroplane is to a child. Such ignorance, such regulated stupidity in our very "developed" countries is, as it always has been, a prerequisite for maintaining the conditions described in this booklet.

We should not take the easy way as regards solutions. Suggestions that Third World governments should simply put powdered milk imports under state control or prohibit them, or should more strictly supervise the activities of multinational companies, or subordinate the distribution of products such as baby foods to national health services - such suggestions are certainly valid in theory but they usually do not take into account the true distribution of power in most developing countries. As an illustration, here are a few examples of what I experienced or heard while I filmed in Kenya.

The hospital in Nairobi where I was filming, and whose doctors and nurses gave me great support, had a small health education unit, which was about to complete a calendar containing colour pictures giving nutritional advice to mothers. One of the pictures planned was of a mother breast feeding her baby, with the caption: "Mother's milk is best for Baby". At the order of the Health Ministry this picture had to be removed as, according to the Ministry, it was not yet proved that mother's milk was in fact better. How else can this attitude be explained than by the influence of interested milk companies within this Ministry?

Like many other Third World hospitals, the one in Nairobi was supplied with free powdered milk for clinical needs (in cases of premature births or of death of the mother, etc.). The side-effect of this seemingly disinterested generosity was the hospital's dependency on these gifts, inasmuch as the rather tight budget no longer provided for purchase of powdered milk. With these donations Nestlé (just like other companies) paid for the right to advertize in the hospital with almost no restrictions - with posters and wall calendars (especially in maternity and pediatric clinics), with free samples and bottles for mothers who had just given birth, and in many cases even with visits by company employees at the mothers' bedside.

Those hospital doctors who tried to check the advance of powdered milk naturally did not like all this advertizing, and they decided one day to remove all the posters and calendars. Right the next day, one of the doctors told me, a Nestlé representative arrived and threatened to stop the supplies unless the advertizing was allowed to continue. In this case, the doctors were not to be intimidated and Nestlé had to give in, which was none too hard to do considering that the outsize Lactogen tins they had supplied were in themselves an effective advertisement.

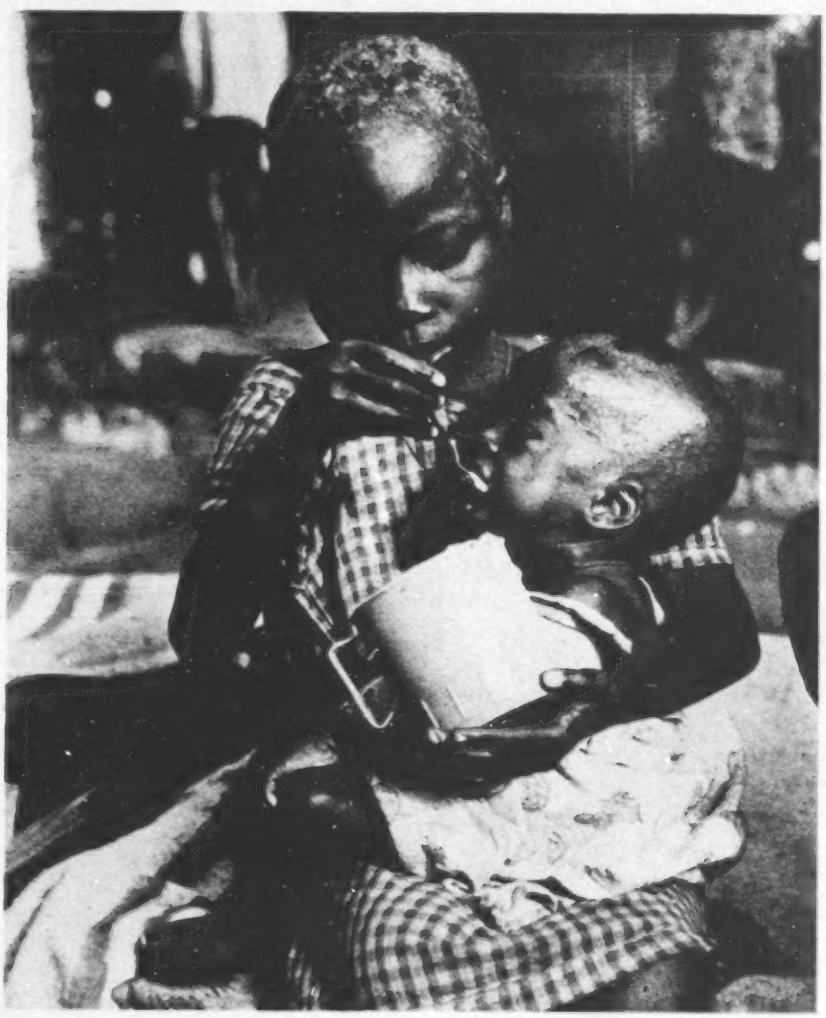
Other doctors tell about banquets in Nairobi's Hilton Hotel organized by Nestlé for foreign guests of the country's pediatric society, of one year's free supply of powdered milk for babies of doctors and other activities verging on outright bribery. These practices probably are among the more harmless in the armoury of multinational corporations. In case they fail, they could be backed up by the whole arsenal of power of these corporations, which is vastly superior to the economic power of most developing countries, whose governments are more and more interlinked and fused with the management of corporations and banks.

In the long run, no code of good behaviour by corporations, no prohibition of advertizing or any other cosmetic measures will prevent the shedding of blood in the dealings of the profit maximisers. The only thing to be done is to expose these practices: we must fearlessly point out how they originate and whom they benefit. We must help the victims - most effectively by combatting the causes of their misery in our own countries, because that is where it originates. We have to enable people to become aware of the situation and to change it.

The parents of my generation, when asked why they did not resist the crimes of fascism in my country, excused themselves with a bad conscience by pretending ignorance of them; if they had known, they maintained, they would have closed their eyes to them out of fear. We who are faced every day with the victims of present crimes will no longer be able to pretend ignorance, and any tacit tolerance of these crimes will make us accomplices.

January 1976

Peter Krieg
maker of the film Bottle Babies
(translated from the German
by Dorothea Millwood)



Malnourished girl feeds her little brother in Nigeria (no bottle).

UNICEF photo
ICEF 6224.

resources

The issue touches so many areas of concern - from multinational corporations to medical literature to advertising to the women's movement - that a "complete bibliography" would be impossible.

Set out below are (a) important sources of information on the different areas of concern and (b) a highly selective annotated bibliography on the different aspects of the issue.

A. GROUPS/CENTRES/ORGANISATIONS WORKING ON RELEVANT ISSUES

1. On Multinational Corporations

International Union of Food and Allied Workers' Associations (IUF)
Rampe du Pont-Rouge 8, CH-1213 Petit Lancy (Geneva), Switzerland. The IUF is an independent international federation of unions representing workers in the following industries: food (baking and flour milling, meat processing, canning and preserving, sugar refining, dairy products, edible oil, etc.), beverages (brewing, distilling, wine, soft drinks and mineral water), tobacco processing and manufacturing, and the catering trades.

It was founded for the purpose of strengthening the positionof each affiliated union through mutual support. Its guiding principle is international labour solidarity, cutting across national borders and barriers created by distance, different languages and customs. Formed in 1920.

Has published a Directory of Multinational Companies (January 1976) which is not available for general distribution. Groups interested should get in touch with the affiliated union in their country. Also produces a monthly News Bulletin at S.Fr.100.-- per year.

Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR)
475 Riverside Drive, Room 566, New York, NY 10027, USA. Publishes a variety of reports on the operations of multinational corporations costing $0.60 each, and studies at $2-$4. The Center also publishes monthly Corporate Examiner, in English only, examining actions and policies of major US corporations in areas of consumerism, environment, foreign investment, labour and minority policies, military production and corporate responsibility. LIST of the Center's publications from above address.

Commission on Transnational Corporations and Information and Research Centre, United Nations Plaza, New York, USA. Formed in December 1974 by the Economic and Social Council of the UN (ECOSOC), to deal on a continuous basis and in a comprehensive way with the full range of issues relating to the activities of transnational corporations. Programmes include training workshops for government officials from the developing countries, to help these countries to strengthen their bargaining position with such corporations.

European Centre for Study and Information on Multinational Corporations
66-68 Avenue Adolphe Lacomblée, Boîte No. 6., 1040 Bruxelles, Belgium. Founded by Nestlé in December 1975, its aims are (a) to obtain objective information on multinationals in the form of studies, questionnaires, books, brochures, reports, etc., (b) to organise meetings, conferences, symposiums and encounters with many

diverse groups, and (c) to provide continual education on the activities of multinationals. As the founder, M. Pierre Liotard-Vogt, President of Nestlé, says, "in the long run this should help to show that this kind of company is not bad, in spite of (human) mistakes which have been and will be made".

2. Third World/Development

CETIM: Centre Europe-Tiers Monde
37 Quai Wilson, 1200 Genève, Switzerland. Tel: 022/31 59 63. Seeks to document the exploitative links between Europe and the Third World, with special emphasis on Switzerland. Produces regular publications, especially on investments.

Bern Declaration/Erklärung von Bern/Dichiarazione di Berna
Switzerland: Case Postale 97, 1000 Lausanne 9 (tel. 021/22 32 19); Gartenhofstr. 27, 8004 Zürich (tel. 01/ 39 69 00); C.P. 28, 6914 Carona (tel. 091/68 95 40). Launched in 1968 to create more solidarity from the Swiss people with the Third World, concentrates on the diffusion of information about the mechanisms which have created a dependency of the developing countries, which hinder real development.

War on Want
467 Caledonian Road, London N7 9BE. Founded during the 1950's as a campaign to make world poverty a major and urgent socio-political issue. A voluntary aid agency with development and relief aid programmes in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Puts out publications from time to time, e.g. "The Baby Killer".

International Mass Media Research Centre
173 Avenue de la Dhuys, 93170 Bagnolet, France, and P.O. Box 350, New York, NY 10013, USA. Produces a semiannual multilingual bibliography (annotated) on Marxism and Mass Media, prepared to (a) document the wealth of world Marxist thought and working class practice concerning the mass media, and (b) increase awareness of this collective experience among mass media workers, journalists, researchers, students and the mass public. Available at $4.00 per copy. (Includes many works dealing with multinational companies and cultural imperialism).

International Peace Research Association (IPRA)
P.O. Box 5052, Oslo 3, Norway. Aims include the advancement of interdisciplinary research into the conditions of peace and the causes of war, and helping the dissemination of research results and of information on significant developments of peace research. Publishes a newsletter 6 times a year, of which No.5 1975 reports on the 1975 IPRA seminar whose theme "Europe/Africa: Exploitation or Development" covered specifically issues related to agriculture, food, nutrition, raw materials, capital and the transfer of technology. Includes some helpful analysis and proposals for actions.

IDOC - International Documentation and Communication Centre
Via S. Maria dell'Anima 30, 00186 Rome, Italy. Has probably the most extensive and exciting documentation available on socio-political issues internationally. Publishes a regular bulletin, and many resource dossiers on crucial issues (including one to appear soon on multinationals' involvement in the communication industry).

Counter Information Services
52 Shaftesbury Avenue, London W1. Tel: 01/734 8862. Publishes bi-monthly Anti-Reports on British companies. These, as the name suggests, give the other side of the picture from what is normally put out by companies in their annual reports. They examine, for instance, the politics of employment, investments and activities in countries of politically repressive regimes, takeovers, company philosophy. Very solid and important documents. CIS anti-reports have included: Rio Tinto Zinc, General Electric Company, Consolidated Gold Fields, Recurrent Crisis of London, British Leyland, Insurance Companies. Subscriptions for six issues £2 (UK) and £2.50 (overseas), both including postage and packing.

Stichting Onderzoek Multinationale Onderbemingen
Paulus Potterstraat 20, Amsterdam, Netherlands. Conducts research and collects documentation on multinational companies. Publications include a Guide to the Study of Multinationals (in Dutch), and Unilever: an Anti-Report (in English, together with CIS, London).

3. Breast Feeding Campaign Groups

La Leche League International
9616 Minneapolis Avenue, Franklin Park, Illinois 60131, USA. A non-sectarian, non-profit organisation dedicated to educating women about breastfeeding. Publishes several free and inexpensive pamphlets about nursing as well as a bimonthly newspaper. Also a very complete book called The Womanly Art of Breast Feeding ,1972. Recently a "La Leche League Information Service" has been created to provide high-quality information on breastfeeding outside the USA (especially non-industrialised countries). Contact Eleanor Randall at the above address.

La Leche League has groups and representatives in the following:

Argentina Aruba Australia Bangladesh Brazil Canada Canal Zone Chile Colombia Cuba Denmark Eastern Carolina Islands England France Germany Ghana Guam Honduras Iceland Ireland Israel Japan Kenya Korea Mexico Netherlands New Zealand Nicaragua Norway Okinawa Philippines Portugal Puerto Rico Scotland South Africa Spain Switzerland Taiwan Thailand Trinidad Tunisia Turkey Virgin Islands Wales West Pakistan Zambia Zimbabwe. (A full directory of addresses can be obtained from the League.)

The Human Lactation Center Ltd.
666 Sturges Highway, Westport, Connecticut 06880, USA. Set up towards the end of 1975, the centre (with offices in California and Connecticut) plans to work closely with medical and baby food industry authorities, and with government, to promote breast feeding , study the nutritional effects on mother and infant, and to conduct informational campaigns worldwide. It is creating a library to house the data on lactation, and will publish a journal entitled "The Lactation Quarterly".

B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. The Baby Foods Issue

Bottle Babies, colour film, 16 mm, 20 minutes (short version - educational), 30 minutes (long version with an additional part on the role of multinational milk companies); English sound track. German sound track version entitled "Flaschenkinder". A documentary, filmed mainly in Kenya, on the consequences of using commercial baby foods in the Third World. Available from addresses in Section 3.

The Baby Killer by Mike Muller, published by War on Want, London May 1975 (2nd edition), 22 pages. An investigation into the promotion and sale of powdered baby milks in the Third World. Available from War on Want, 467 Caledonian Road, London N7 9BE. French edition, "Le Tueur de Bébés", available from Secretariat romand de la Déclaration de Berne, Case Postale 226, CH 1000 Lausanne 17, Switzerland. German edition "Nestle Tötet Babys" available from Arbeitsgruppe Dritte Welt, Postfach 1007, CH 3001 Bern, Switzerland.

Medical Standards for Marketing of Infant Foods, Gothenburg, October 1975, 3 pages. Drawn up by 12 Swedish paediatricians, a nine-point guideline of commercial practices, prohibiting direct consumer advertising (in journals, newspapers, magazines, baby books, posters, booklets etc.) for infant formulas, and demanding strict control on information about these via the medical profession.

BFAG Action Pack produced and published by the Baby Foods Action Group, London March 1976. A loose-leaf pull-out pack on the baby foods manufacturing issue, directed mainly at the United Kingdom. Includes sections on: the major multinational corporations involved, their size, growth, profit and advertising techniques; the ethics of milk aid and trade; breast feeding and bottle feeding - the relationship to the women's movement; a poster and chart for suggested actions and "breast is best" buttons and T-shirts.

"Recommendations on Policies and Practices in Infant and Young Child Feeding and Proposals for Action to Implement Them", in PAG Bulletin, United Nations, New York, Vol. V No. 1 March 1975. An extensive list of recommendations for infant feeding practices in Hong Kong, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Sri Lanka and Thailand, made by participants from those countries at a PAG-sponsored regional seminar. Specifically emphasises both the extreme importance of breast feeding and education on that, and the development of alternative indigenous high-protein weaning foods. In proposals to industry and governments stresses that advertising of industrial infant food products should be controlled.

Resolution of the Twenty-seventh World Health Assembly, No. WHA27.43, the World Health Organisation, Geneva May 1974. Strongly recommends breast feeding as the ideal feeding to promote harmonious physical and mental development of children, urges review and redress of sales promotion activities on baby foods and encourages the development of cheap locally-produced weaning foods.

"Recommendations for action programmes to encourage breast feeding", in IPA Bulletin, October 1975; from a document prepared at the IPA (International Paediatrics Association) seminar, Montreux, Switzerland, August 1975. Includes proposals that the IPA undertake to provide suitable educational material to give publicity to breast feeding, and that promotional activities in the marketing of baby milks and feeding bottles be curtailed by every means available to the profession, including legislation to control unethical practice.

A Report on Some Aspects of the Sales Promotion of Proprietary Brands of Milk for Feeding Infants, Caribbean Food and Nutrition Institute (CFNI), P.O. Box 140, Kingston 7, Jamaica, September 1974. Gives the results of a study to collect information on the sales promotion of infant formula in Jamaica. Deals with six companies (Jamaica Milk Products - a Nestlé subsidiary -, Levy Brothers, Mead Johnson - a Bristol-Myers subsidiary -, H.D. Hopwood & Co., Kong's Commercial, Facey Commodity Co. Ltd., and Grace Kennedy), their means of distribution, promotion and advertising, including the role of the "commercial nurse". Recommends the withdrawal of nurses, and promotion through education among the medical and nursing professions of a balanced view of the choice between breast and bottle feeding.

Code of Ethics and Professional Standards for Advertising, Product Information and Advisory Services for Breast-milk Substitutes by the International Council of Infant Foods Industry (ICIFI), November 1975. Gives a 13-point pledge on product labelling, educational materials, use of "mothercraft" personnel, for the purpose of ensuring that products are "correctly" used; says nothing about the control of advertising.

(Members of the ICIFI are: USA - Wyeth International Limited; JAPAN - Meiji Milk Products Co. Ltd., Morinaga Milk Industry Co. Ltd., Snow Brand Milk Products Co. Ltd., Wakodo Co. Ltd.; EUROPE - Dumex Ltd., Nestlé Products Technical Assistance Co. Ltd., Unigate Foods Ltd. (Cow and Gate); plus one unnamed company).

In Defence of Breast Feeding by the Food Policy and Nutrition Division of FAO (Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations), Rome October 1975. Emphasises the values of breast feeding, and calls for applied research into reversing the decline of breast feeding and into appropriate nutrition programmes for lactating mothers and weanlings.

2. Multinational Corporations (including Nestlé)

"Nestlé: der unbekannte Riese", in FOCUS Nr. 64, Zürich, Juni 1975.
An examination of Nestlé, history, growth, investment, organisation, take-overs. Gives tables on profits and investments, details of companies Nestlé owns and the brand names being used, plus a chronological table of Nestlé's growth. Clear and helpful. (in German)

Die "Strategie" der Multis gegen ihre Kritiker, von Urs P. Gasche, published by Erklärung von Bern (Bern Declaration), Veilchenstrasse 6, Zürich, January 1976, 16 pages (price S.Fr.3.--). Report on the symposium "Multinationals in Confrontation" held in Geneva in September 1975 at which more than 200 public relations and advertising managers of multinational corporations from over 20 countries took part. A critical assessment of the participants and the "five point strategy" developed during the symposium. (in German, English and French)

Global Reach: The Power of the Multinational Corporations, by Richard J. Barnet and Ronald E. Müller, published by Simon & Schuster, New York 1974. (US$11.95) Discusses multinational corporations' and banks' power in the world; modes of operation and goals; inability to overcome poverty, unemployment, inequity. Gloomy analysis, reinforced by the authors' view that corporations and banks alone appear to have skills, scope, financial strength to project global plan for the future. Hope lies in possible action by local communities and national governments. Excellent and comprehensive.

Bibliography: Multinational Corporations, by Documentation Service of Christian Action for Development intheCaribbean (CADEC), P.O. Box 527, Kingston 10, Jamaica, 1975 8 pages. An annotated, alphabetical, 44-entry bibliography available free from CADEC.

The Transnational Corporations and the Third World, compiled and published by Cooperation in Documentation and Communication (CODOC), 1500 Farragut Street, N.W., Washington D.C. 20011, 1975. A thorough bibliography of documents from 1970-1974, with contributions from 9 member centres. Entries include several and specific descriptions of documents' contents. Sections: 1. The Transnational Corporations - General Theory and Description; 2. Transnational Corporations and the Third World. Includes how to obtain documents, sources for additional information. Indexes of authors, contributing centres, languages, subjects; corporations, trade unions, other organisations referred to. 1300 entries. A most useful publication. (Price $3.95 from CODOC)

The New Internationalist No. 37 entitled "The Footloose Phase of Capitalism", March 1976, Stage House, High Street, Benson, Oxon OX9 6RP. The 34-page issue of this British monthly devoted to multinational companies: a guide to the world's biggest companies, workers and bosses speak out, the international drugs trade, guerillas at war with industry. Well presented, interesting and highly informative.

Corporate Action Guide, compiled and published by the Corporate Action Project, 1500 Farragut Street, NW, Washington D.C. 20011, 1974, 104 pages. Gives a very thorough analysis of business corporations which manufacture and distribute goods and the financial corporations which support them - how they work, where they get their power, what their impact is. A second part deals with what possible actions can be undertaken to challenge them, how people can get organised. Describes and criticises former struggles. Includes 10 pages of bibliography and addresses of action groups in the USA. A solid and important document.

3. Economics and Imperialism

The New Industrial State by John Kenneth Galbraith, Pelican, London 1974 (first published USA 1967) ISBN 014/02 1082 2. A full-scale investigation of the corporate society, in which power has already passed from stockholders, unions, and company directors to the "technostructure" which alone possesses the information necessary to wield it. Technology in both Russia and America has taken on a life of its own and relegated to the scrap-heap both socialism and orthodox capitalism. An important analysis of power and world economy.

The Nutrition Factor by Alan Berg, The Brookings Institute, Washington, 1973. ISBN 0 8157 0913 7. A study of malnutrition as an obstacle to development, viewing it as both a consequence and a cause of underdevelopment. Contends that better nutrition of the child is essential to her/his subsequent contribution to the national economy. A wide-ranging analysis and suggestions for action.

"Evolution de l'Alimentation dans les Pays en voie de Développement" de T. Brun et H. Dupin, in Croissance des Jeunes Nations November 1974, and Cahiers de Nutrition et Diététique March 1975. Analyses the factors which have contributed to the change in food production and consumption in the non-industrialised countries, starting with colonisation which introduced large plantation-style agriculture leading to the imposition of export trading as a way of life, thus putting small

producers at the mercy of international trading agreements. Describes the invasion of western culture and commerce, leading to widespread use of expensive and sometimes inappropriate foodstuffs, and the growth of a prestige attached to imported foods. Combined factors have a disastrous effect on the economies of these countries. (in French).

International Firms and Modern Imperialism edited by Hugo Radice, Penguin, London 1975. A collection of critical writing on international firms as the major form of economic domination today, using the theory of imperialism as the tool for analysing world economics. Sections include the role of international firms in world economy, and the technological dependence of the developing countries.

"The Multinational Corporation and the Law of Uneven Development", by Stephen Hymer, in International Firms and Modern Imperialism (see above).
An analysis of the evolution of the international firm in terms of the increasing size and changing structure of enterprises and their relation to the market. The author argues that the international firm perpetuates a world economy in its own image, distorting the international division of labour into a hierarchy of wealth and power.

Schweizer Kapital und Dritte Welt, von B. Kappeler und R.H. Strahm, published by Erklärung von Bern (Bern Declaration), Gartenhofstr. 27, Zürich, 1975. Deals with the Swiss economy in relation to that of Third World countries, and Swiss industrial investments in developing countries. (in German)

4. Medical/breast feeding/bottle feeding

Paediatric Priorities in the Developing World, by David Morley, Butterworths, Great Britain, 1973. Examines the problem facing child health services throughout the developing world: the urgent need to decide which of all the measures that may be taken to reduce the appalling levels of childhood mortality and morbidity should have the highest priorities where financial resources are so severely limited. Stated purpose of the book is to orientate the medical student or doctor towards the practical problems she/he will meet when involved in child care in a rural community.

West Indian Medical Journal, Vol XX No.3, September 1971, whole issue on "Guidelines to Young Child Feeding in the Contemporary Caribbean", published by the University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica W.I. This issue of this quarterly journal is an edited version of a seminar on Infant Feeding in the Caribbean held in June 1970. It represents the authoritative and considered views of leading paediatricians, obstetricians, nutritionists and public health workers. Contains 22 papers on nutrition, breast feeding, lactation, human milk, artificial feeding, weaning, local products.

Factors Influencing Intention and Success in Breast Feeding, MSc Thesis by Ursula Liebrich, August 1975. A study carried out in Great Britain in 1975 to (a) assess the effects of knowledge, experience and attitudes on intention and success in breast feeding, and (b) to identify reasons for choosing artificial feeding and for cessation of breast feeding when this occurred before seven weeks. Indicates social factors - lack of public breast feeding, knowledge about breast feeding, pressures from work and friends and advertising - as being strong influencing factors. (Ursula Liebrich is currently working with the Christian Medical Commission of the World Council of Churches in Geneva, Switzerland).

5. Women

Woman in Sexist Society, edited by Vivian Gornick and Barbara K. Moran, Signet, USA, 1972, 704 pages. An anthology of writings by women on power and powerlessness. Sections on Beauty, Love and Marriage: The Myth and the Reality; Socialisation; Woman at Work; Social Issues and Feminism: Education, Homosexuality, Race and Radicalism. A fine collection.

MEDIA SHE, by Patricia Edgar and Hilary McPhee, published by Heinemann Melbourne (60 Inkerman Street, St. Kilda, Victoria, 3182 Australia), 1974, 168 pages. ISBN 0 85561 034 4. Outlining how both women and men are socialized into sex roles, both in family, education and employment structures, this book argues, with examples, how the media's contribution to this socialization process is very significant, by presenting especially extreme stereotypes of females. Demonstrates this very effectively with a vast section reproducing newspaper titles and articles on women, and a satire on this. Visually very expressive. Bibliography.

Spare Rib, produced monthly by a women's collective, 9 Newburgh Street, London W1A 4XS. Very often contains articles on women and our bodies, including breast feeding and the baby foods scandal. Extremely informative, and an important resource on the women's movement (especially in Britain).

Many more resources on women and the women's movement, self-help, the media etc. can be obtained from ISIS, Via della Pelliccia 31, 00153 Rome, Italy (or ISIS, Case Postale 301, 1227 Carouge, Switzerland).

6. Useful Publications

The New Internationalist, a monthly magazine whose aim is to inform and involve people in the campaign for world development. It has the joint backing of Christian Aid, Oxfam and Third World First. Annual subscription costs: £4.75 (UK) £5.00 (Europe), £5.00 surface, £9.00 airmail (rest of the world). Editorial and Advertising Office: Stage House, High Street, Benson, Oxford, UK, Tel: Wallingford 37800. Subscription Distribution Agents: RPS Ltd., Victoria Hall, Fingal St., London SE10, UK. (English only)

CCPD Network Letter produced approximately three times a year, giving sources of information about aspects of development education (publications, kits, films, groups), together with descriptions of CCPD activities and some articles. Available from: Commission on the Churches' Participation in Development, P.O. Box No. 66, 150 Route de Ferney, 1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland. (English only)

Development Forum published monthly by the Centre for Economic & Social Information, United Nations, New York and Geneva, free of charge, in English, French, Spanish, Italian and German. Contains articles and resources on development, education, environment, population, trade, food and nutrition.

ORDER FORM

Further copies of this Guide to the Baby Foods Issue are available in English, French and German, at the addresses given below, price US$3.00 per individual copy, or a reduced rate (US$2.00 per copy) for orders of 10 or more.

Please send me ..... copies of the English Guide
..... copies of the French Guide
..... copies of the German Guide

Name.....

Address.....

Return to: CCPD, World Council of Churches, 150 route de Ferney, 1211 Geneva 20 Switzerland

or: ISIS, Case Postale 301, 1227 Carouge, Switzerland.

ISIS is a women's documentation, information and communication service. It is collecting and analysing documentation on issues of importance to women and the women's movement around the world.

This information is cross-indexed and stored in a unique retrieval system called OASIS which works manually with concept cards.

ISIS thus serves as

(a) an information service, drawing on the cross-indexed resources (books, pamphlets, papers, photos, poems, posters, films, video-tapes etc.) coming from women in many different countries;

(b) a communication service, disseminating (via a bulletin) information of particular current interest (e.g. selected documents from the International Tribunal of Crimes Against Women, held in Brussels, March 1976);

(c) a documentation service compiling resource dossiers on specific topics when this seems important. This present guide is one such document.

Further information about the services of ISIS, about how OASIS works, and copies of the bulletin can be obtained from

Via della Pelliccia 31
00152 Rome, Italy.

or

Case Postale 301,
1227 Carouge, Switzerland

every woman
has the right
to choose
how to feed
her baby